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Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770–1845

Edited by
PORSCHA FERMANIS
and
JOHN REGAN

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11

Historical Fiction and the
Fractured Atlantic

Fiona Robertson

What time the thirteen Governors that England sent convene
In Bernard's house, the flames covered the land. They rouse, they cry,
Shaking their mental chains they rush in fury to the sea
To quench their anguish; at the feet of Washington down fallen,
They grovel on the sand and writhing lie, while all
The British soldiers through the thirteen states sent up a howl
Of anguish, threw their swords and muskets to the earth and ran
From their encampments and dark castles, seeking where to hide
From the grim flames and from the visions of Orc; ...

(William Blake, *America: A Prophecy*)¹

One of the strangest details in Blake's *America* (1793) is the architectural archaism of the 'dark castles' occupied by the British army. In resetting the American War of Independence in an older landscape of aristocratic and military struggle, Blake skews his poem's historical specificity and his own role as visionary or 'prophetic' historian—though this detail is easy to overlook in a narrative of *America*'s formal and conceptual concentration, and diffuseness. The imagined 'dark castles' anticipate the disconcerting elision of 'America' from *America* at the end of the poem, when the narrative of revolution recrosses the Atlantic to France, and older architectural forms take on their traditional, highly politicized, implications in European revolutionary discourse.² A unique form of historical narrative—cyclical but also, paradoxically, millenarian—Blake's *America* represents an elaborate ongoing struggle between linear and particularized history (the war, Washington, Warren, Paine) and cyclical and universalized history (the incarnation and its repetitions, especially in the liberation of Orc, which heralds a new age of revolution across the globe). These two

historical forms meet, or collide, in the American War but are also fractured (in Blake's language, 'rent apart') by that war.³

To use a detail from Blake to introduce an argument about Romantic historiography may seem, in itself, to distort the terms of debate; and certainly Blake's style of historical narrative could never be taken to typify the intellectual movements of his time. However, the contradictions of Blake's *America* bring into focus the oddity of the historiographical analysis this chapter seeks to identify. *America*'s oblique, antithetical historical narrative is as it is not only because it is by Blake, I propose, but also because it engages with the great rupture in Britain's body politic in the late eighteenth century—the revolutionary war in America. This chapter argues that the fracture in Britain's colonial history realized in the American War had serious, so far largely unmapped, consequences for British historical writing; and traces these consequences in the historical fiction of the period. The American War of Independence, and the radical break it represented for British writers and thinkers, challenged not only established modes of British political and social thought, and literary expression, but also the formal qualities of historical narrative—that is, the structure of story, historiographical perspective and voice, linearity and progression. Defined by many at the time in terms of its supposed lack of history, the United States constituted a new and dangerous form of the fictive—self-fashioned, projected, formless. In contrast, Britain was increasingly conceptualized in terms of the historical, rather than the modern. In early American histories of the United States this constituted the conceptual underpinning of what Karen O'Brien has called the 'delayed Americanisation' of historical narrative;⁴ while in British histories, both traditional and fictional, the form of history becomes as if naturally conservative or traditionalist—not by any means a characteristic of history-writing *per se*.

The central texts considered in this chapter are prose fictions: Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793), Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814), and Scott's less well-known late short story 'The Tapestry Chamber' (1828). The argument bringing them together crosses several different traditional divisions: between types of fiction seen to take historicity more or less 'seriously'; between English and Scottish fiction; between fiction by women and by men in which, as Ina Ferris has suggested, Scott came to compensate for the perceived shortcomings of a female literary genre;⁵ and between two civil wars, the American War of Independence and the Jacobite uprising of 1745–6. The wider context of this argument is the persistent intransigence in British writing of the post-1776 period in dealing with the subject matter of American history—both the history of the British colonies in North America and the emerging history of the new United States, in itself a priority subject in the early decades of the United States, a matter of urgent

self-definition.⁶ How can history be written—and what are the pressures on historiography in theory and in practice—in a time of fracture? How does fracture itself, formally and imaginatively, become the precondition of historiography, not implicitly (as it arguably always has been), but instead at the heart of Romantic historiography, in loss and disconnection?

1. FRACTURED HISTORIES

When Britain's thirteen American colonies declared independence, they challenged not only a political system of governance but also an intellectual system ruled by precedent and received authority. Implicitly but inescapably, to hold truths to be self-evident is to declare them impervious to refutations based on comparative analysis, including historical analysis. Among the many changes which American independence produced—changes in the shape of the emerging nation, its politics, peoples, territories; and in the shape of the rest of the world, as established nations redefined themselves in a new world order—was a subtle but potent challenge to historiography. The conundrum of how, in these circumstances, to write history registered immediately in Britain in William Robertson's *History of America* (1777; parts 9 and 10 published posthumously, 1796), a work 'left in a state of permanently suspended animation', as I have argued elsewhere.⁷ It continued in the marked paucity of British treatments of North American history in novels, plays, poems, and more formal historical narratives of the period 1776–1826; and, also, in subsequent cultural and literary histories, to the lack of attention paid to those few works which lingered over the American past. Robert Southey's unfinished long narrative poem *Oliver Newman: A New-England Tale* was a rare venture into seventeenth-century American colonial history, and unread outside his immediate circle until its posthumous publication in 1845—a stark contrast to the prominence, in his own time and in modern critical analysis, of his treatments of South America. Thomas Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming: A Pennsylvanian Tale* (1809)—set against the backdrop of the 'Wyoming Massacre' of 1778—was the most important and influential historical imagining of the American colonies in the period, though it is now marginal to most histories of Romantic poetics.⁸ British writers seem simply to have been reluctant to lay claim, in narrative form, to the history of the American colonies, because this history was so strongly felt—on both sides of the Atlantic—to be the property of the new United States.

In our own received versions of literary and historical tradition—on both sides of the Atlantic—it has become natural to set aside American history as something properly part of a new intellectual tradition, and no

longer important in European historical practice. Georg Lukács's seminal account of the rise of historical fiction, most influentially, placed historical fiction firmly in a European context of French revolutionary unrest and national self-definition.⁹ As in so many Romantic-era narratives, and indeed in most modern historical narratives of the period, the shaping intellectual force has come to be regarded as distinctively European. However, for British writers, a more fundamental challenge to national identity and national story had taken place over a decade before revolutionary unrest in France. The United States was (and is) routinely posited as a political precursor to events in France, although there was little ideological continuity between the two struggles. In consequence, Atlantic fracture separated not only Britain from the former colonies, but also the story of American independence from later European stories. The United States may have been theorized as independent of history, but it incorporated historical precedent to its identity from the start, at first in architectural and rhetorical allusions to classical republicanism, and increasingly in literary and historical works devoted to the realization and dissemination of an 'American' past. As the United States concentrated on establishing its own history, European writers tactfully withdrew their gaze—this, at least, is what we have come to expect, and to regard as fitting. In fact, what happened was more complicated, and far more interesting, aesthetically and historiographically. If we are prepared to set aside the assumptions of traditional, national histories of history-telling, and to look instead at particular pieces of British historical fiction, we can begin to see the consequences of Atlantic fracture in the ways in which history involving the United States could be imagined, and written, in the decades following independence.

The fracture between the historical traditions of Britain and the United States is very clearly marked in the traditions established within literary history. Scholarly analyses of the Romantic period have long associated the politicized metaphors of the 'dawn' of which Wordsworth writes in *The Prelude* with the French Revolution—an essential association, in fact, if an identifiable literary 'period' is to 'begin' somewhere, preferably in France in 1789. In keeping with Wordsworth's emphasis on the formative impressions of childhood, however, it is notable that for the writers of Wordsworth's immediate generation—those born in and around 1770—the actual war taking place during their childhoods was the War of Independence. The most important historical writer of the nineteenth century, Walter Scott, later enshrined in tradition the Scottishness of his formative years, but the 'Memoirs' he began at Ashestiel in April 1808 (when he was 36—a few years older than the Wordsworth of the 1805 *Prelude*) reveal the significance of events in the American colonies in

helping to shape a child's historical imagination. Among Scott's recollections of his time at his grandparents' farm in the Borders are hints of his developing political ideas:

This was during the heat of the American war, and I remember being as anxious on my uncle's weekly visits (for we heard news at no other time) to hear of the defeat of Washington as if I had had some deep and personal cause of antipathy to him. I know not how this was combined with a very strong prejudice in favour of the Stuart family which I had originally imbibed from the songs and tales of the Jacobites.¹⁰

Here, what Scott would later acknowledge to be his emotional Jacobitism is entangled with events in the War of Independence—and, just as revealingly, kept separate from them ('I know not how this was combined with'). He presents the conjunction as entirely personal and mildly puzzling—oddly so, since his two conservative inclinations are in fact very easy to reconcile. A later anecdote, however, clarifies Scott's instinctive resistance to aligning events in colonial America with those of the '45. When Scott was 6, and visiting Preston-Pans (site of the definitive Jacobite victory), he befriended a military veteran, Captain Delgatty, who told him tales of old campaigns, and with whom he discussed current action in the American colonies. One passage from the Ashestiel 'Memoirs' recalls hostilities in the autumn of 1777:

Sometimes our conversation turned on the American war which was then raging. It was about the time of Burgoyne's unfortunate expedition, to which my Captain and I augured different conclusions. Somebody had shewed me a map of North America and struck with the rugged appearance of the country and the quantity of lakes, I expressed some doubts on the subject of the General's arriving safely at the end of his journey, which were very indignantly refuted by the Captain. The news of the Saratoga disaster, while it gave me a little triumph, rather shook my intimacy with the veteran.¹¹

For all his earlier antipathy to Washington, and in defiance of his own declared political affiliations, the young Scott is, here, intellectually at least, on the side of the Americans and the new, defining himself in opposition to 'the veteran'. Furthermore, the trouncing of an army of occupation by an indigenous force, working as if in collaboration with the 'rugged' country—the story of Saratoga as it seemed to Scott, and the story of the 1745 Jacobite campaign as far as Carlisle—is politically and emotionally contradictory when mapped onto Scott's two great boyhood antipathies to George Washington and the Duke of Cumberland. 'I know not how this was combined with' quietly acknowledges the emotional schism of Scott's politics: the loyalty which, as William Hazlitt asserted in his essay on Scott in *The Spirit of the Age* (1825), was founded on 'would-be treason'.¹²

There are complex narratives at work here, but also one simple and striking connection. Despite his claim not to know how these things came to be combined, Scott's early Jacobite loyalties were bound up with his desire to see the British army hold the American colonies. The connection feels odd, and improbable, which is why it deserves more careful attention. That no account of the formation of Britain's most important historical novelist should have lingered over the impact of news from the American campaigns is a clear signal of the felt separation between British and a new 'American' history. Scott himself registers the fracture, in 1808; that is, during his 'public' years as a poet, six years before the publication, anonymously, of *Waverley*. At this stage in his life, Scott had not engaged, in writing, with the topic which first marked his career as a novelist—Jacobite history. He had no reason to pay particular attention in the 'Memoirs' to the formation of his views on the '45. Instead, he interweaves his early Stuart sympathies with his reactions to the immediate military struggle of his childhood, the war in the American colonies; and he recalls poring over one campaign in particular, the campaign of Saratoga. No account of the formation of Scott's ideas, however, has noticed him do this, or reflected on the wider implications of the formation of a historical consciousness in this specific historical context. As in the case of Blake's 'dark castles', the apparent incongruity leads to a different kind of narrative; in Scott's case, to a reconsideration of a particular battle and its resonances many years later.

Before turning to the Saratoga campaign as refracted in British Romantic histories, it is necessary briefly to clarify the force of 'fracture' in the present argument. In recent transatlantic intellectual history, the preferred term has been 'fragmentation', exemplified in Susan Manning's incisive account of fragmentation and union as an "American" structure of thinking [which] is also characteristic of the writing of the Scottish Enlightenment' and its 'revolutionary rethinking of historiography'.¹³ 'Fragmentation', however—as Manning's argument shows—implies something potentially unified, but disassembled. 'Fracture' is altogether more jarring. Alexander Regier differentiates the two terms as follows: 'Fracture describes a break that is located on a structural level. It is not a process, and does not encompass a temporal element in that sense. It might be historically or genealogically located, but that is not its deciding feature.'¹⁴ So defined, fracture is a far more serious problem for historical narrative. Fracture is not ongoing, not 'temporal', though it may be historically locatable. The term is strikingly apposite to Blake's *America*, and to the difference between being turned around or returned ('revolution') and being 'rent apart'. The British fictions this chapter now addresses—historical narratives, and literary histories placing those narratives—treat the formation of the United

States not as a fragmented part of British history, but instead as something fractured from it.

2. CHARLOTTE SMITH'S BURGOYNED ROMANCE

According to Northrop Frye, modern romance is 'kidnapped' romance.¹⁵ In Charlotte Smith's four-volume historical novel *The Old Manor House*, romance can more accurately be described as 'burgoyne'd', a word (meaning to be captured, to be taken prisoner) which entered the language as a result of the most ignominious British defeat of the War of Independence. In its local detail, its narrative structure, and its own subsequent literary fortunes as a work of historical fiction, *The Old Manor House* comes, strangely, to replicate a story which it apparently relegates to its margins.

The story of the Saratoga campaign takes up the third volume of Smith's novel, which is set in the years 1776–8 and tells of the social and romantic frustrations of a hero with the romantically over-determined name of Orlando, his military service in North America, and his successful restoration to family and property on his return to Britain. As his name suggests, and as volume one's epigraph from the opening stanza of canto 21 of *Orlando Furioso* (1516) underlines, Orlando is a representative of traditional romance. The chief of Charlemagne's paladins, the perfect knight of Ariosto and Boiardo, and the hero of *As You Like It* (1623) all shape readers' expectations of him. Even before he joins his regiment in Britain, Orlando has begun to realize the injustice of the British cause in the American colonies, and he feels this increasingly strongly as he travels to join Burgoyne's army. He soon becomes convinced that the cause in which he is contracted to fight proves that the will of the people is not the central principle of British politics, for, as Orlando reflects, it is 'carried on against a part of their own body, and in direct contradiction of the rights universally claimed, was not only pursued at a ruinous expence, but in absolute contradiction to the wishes of the people who were taxed to support it'.¹⁶ The economic contexts of the American War, and the pressures within British society it creates, are dealt with more briefly, but they make it clear that Smith sets the struggle for the American colonies in the context of speculation, colonial greed, and the erosion of older hierarchies of wealth. The War of Independence, that is, is part of a wider socio-economic and politically charged argument. Smith's narrative is full of details which, for contemporary readers, would have created inescapable political echoes: the example which Loraine Fletcher gives, of the housekeeper's speech recalling the warping wainscot of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in*

France (1790), is especially 'mischievous', as she states, in being so tightly woven into domestic particularity.¹⁷ Rewriting and challenging Burkean conservatism is as much a matter of pace and style as of character or plot. As Fletcher notes, 'Apart from the American section, this is a static book'; while Barbara Tarling, also emphasizing Smith's dialogue with Burke, notes the 'abruptness' and 'distinctly transitional quality' of the American section.¹⁸ The novel is relevant to the political situation of the early 1790s, caught in the uncertainty of that time; but it is set a decade and a half earlier, opening in 1776. The significance of the American section is greater, and also more difficult, than critics have allowed. Fletcher rightly places it not 'as a digression but as part of the political focus';¹⁹ but the suggestion is, here and in other analyses, that the American material allows for a historical perspective of, and contemplative distance from, events unfolding in France during Smith's composition (summer and autumn 1792), with the clear implication that Smith is not thinking about the United States, but about France. Superficially, this is easily supported by casual inaccuracies in Smith's treatment of the flora and fauna of her North American terrain in the novel; and by the assumption that, as a woman, she could have had little understanding of, or interest in, the military manoeuvres in which she involves Orlando.²⁰

Critical consensus suggests that volume three was designed merely to appeal to readers' curiosity about American subjects. Certainly it gave Smith the opportunity to include extensive descriptions of natural history and native peoples, especially the Iroquois, among whom Orlando spends several months in a miniature captivity-narrative. However, *The Old Manor House* follows the course of the Saratoga campaign closely, credibly intertwining Orlando's story with the military movements of the later months of 1777. Smith's stated main source of information about the campaign and about the war was David Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution* (1789), from which she quotes in explanatory and polemical notes, and which she recommends to her British public as salutary reading. She was, however, 28 at the time of Saratoga, and unlikely to have relied entirely on Ramsay's views, published twelve years later: rather, she uses them to articulate a corrective American perspective. After being confined to his sickroom with fever in New York, Orlando marches with a group of 250 men to join the northern army of Burgoyne as it moves from Canada to Albany. Smith's details are fictitious, but convincing as part of this particular military sequence. The movements of the various smaller parties of troops in which Orlando travels, for example, are appropriate to the preamble to Saratoga. Burgoyne repeatedly requested extra troops and supplies from Clinton in New York, hence the disappointment when Orlando's small party eventually joins the army. This was also

the campaign in which the special conditions of fighting in the North American terrain became clear, which gives extra point to Smith's inclination to linger over the effects of war on the land and its peoples. In terms of the political argument of *The Old Manor House*, the Saratoga campaign was a conscious and resonant choice in 1793. For British observers, the mismanagement which led to Saratoga produced the most embarrassing defeat of the war. Smith chose precisely the campaign which would have made the justice of the American cause inescapable for the novel's first readers. In 1778, partly encouraged by events at Saratoga, France entered the war in support of the Americans, which would have complicated the sympathies Smith wanted to arouse, especially in 1793 at the outbreak of a new war between Britain and France. Saratoga stands for the British failure to coordinate the movements of armies, arrogance in underestimating the enemy, and for the fatal continuation of 'Euro-centric military thinking', as Jeremy Black has described it, in which 'New World geography, recruitment and logistics' had resulted in 'a war without fronts'.²¹ Saratoga was an iconic surrender and a pointed choice of topic.

It is appropriate to Smith's understated but assured grasp of this particular campaign, also, that Orlando Somerive should become a burgoyne hero, and a burgoyne representative of old European romance. His party is intercepted on its way to join Burgoyne's army by 'red warriors' whose involvement in the British cause Orlando, conventionally, regards as the greatest stain on its honour.²² In a long footnote, Smith quotes from Ramsay's *History*, endorsing Ramsay's condemnation of Britain's alliance with American Indian peoples, and refers her readers to the stories of the forts of Kingston and Wilkesborough in the settlement of Wyoming on the Susquehanna (later to be the subject of Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*). She concludes that however appalled her readers might be by reports of violence in revolutionary France, far more terrible crimes had characterized Britain's allies in the struggle to retain the American colonies; that readers 'should own, that there are savages of all countries—even of our own!'²³ One of the younger 'red warriors', known as the Wolf-hunter, is distinguished by 'his more open countenance—his more gentle manners' and his sympathy for the plight of captured women.²⁴ He becomes what Smith calls Orlando's 'generous protector', but their friendship is evoked for Smith's readers in terms which preserve Orlando's 'natural' superiority. Tim Fulford argues that the bond between them is part of Smith's unconvincing solution to the taint of violence and guilt marring the British ruling classes, 'a sentimental re-education'; while Angela Keane describes the Wolf-hunter as a stereotype that 'mediates British culpability'.²⁵

It was not unusual for eighteenth-century British fictions to include miniature captivity-narratives set in North America, or for these to

involve, however unconvincingly, forms of re-education. Tobias Smollett's last novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771)—probably now the most frequently cited concentration of stereotypes of American Indian culture—describes Lieutenant Obadiah Lismahago's capture and marriage among the Miamis, and also presents its North American materials in notably excursive form and emphatically in the past tense. Lismahago, proceeding rather than progressing from the barbarisms and desires of 'the squaw Squinkinacoosta' to those of Tabitha Bramble, is firmly reattached to the family circles of Britain, never returning to North America or to the people of whom his son is now chief.²⁶ Some details in Lismahago's story parallel Orlando's experiences in the Saratoga campaign; though Smith carefully excises from her account of the Wolf-hunter and his tribe any reference to the women of this tribe, and any hint of sexual adventure. (In turn, some details in the Edinburgh sections of *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* are echoed in Scott's *Waverley*—notably the lodgings of Mrs Lockhart and the name of the young laird of Ballymawhawple, echoed in *Waverley*'s Mrs Flockhart and the laird of Balmawhapple.²⁷) Furthermore, as Christopher Flynn has analysed, novels set in the War of Independence had a market among the late eighteenth-century reading public, and it is possible to chart through these novels changing British perspectives on America and Americans.²⁸ The importance of *The Old Manor House* in particular in this tradition is twofold. First, Smith's tale of Orlando's months in North America is a markedly self-contained and largely, afterwards, forgotten part of his story. Second, the combination of lost colonies and military humiliation with the story of an old house and those who are to inherit it proved subtly influential and adaptable.

After eventually joining Burgoyne's army, Orlando leads a group of six men on a perilous journey to New York. Most of his party are killed and scalped during an ambush by Indians disgruntled with their treatment by the British, but Orlando is spared through the intervention of the Wolf-hunter. Even so, he fears himself doomed 'to drag on a wretched existence among the savage tribes of the American wilderness, and cut off from all communication with his country'.²⁹ Dressed as a warrior, and with his hair shorn Iroquois-style, Orlando looks on as his captors murder and seize women and children left defenceless in the wake of the war. News of the battle of Saratoga encourages the band to plunder further, and then, with Orlando still in his ambivalent position as captive and accomplice, they pass the winter in an Iroquois encampment. Throughout these scenes, the Iroquois (all, in Smith's narrative, men) are unequivocally described as 'barbarians', and Orlando calls these months 'a living death'.³⁰ His only form of consolation is to write letters and a journal, without a hope of their being read, until the arrival of two French Canadians brings him the

comfort of hearing 'a European language'.³¹ In spring, Orlando accompanies them to Quebec to sell furs, pausing to admire the scenery of the St Lawrence and its 'savannahs'. The third volume closes with Orlando's sonnet to the night hawk known as the Whip poor Will (included in later collections of Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets*, 1749–1806). Orlando responds to his captors' beliefs about the bird's cry, but only through the conventions of European poetic form.

With the opening of volume four, Orlando's North American adventures are briskly curtailed. In Quebec he is 'restored to the appearance of an Englishman' and takes leave of his 'Iroquois protector, with a thousand protestations of gratitude for all the services he had rendered him, and promised to remit him a present of such articles as were most acceptable, to Quebec, as soon as he returned to England'.³² In terms of the narrative of *The Old Manor House* as a whole, this fracture is absolute. Orlando retains no marks of sympathy or identification with those among whom he has lived for so many months; while the Wolf-hunter, initially marked by a degree of delicacy towards the women of his enemy, evinces no other sign of emotional range and is left in effect awaiting the promised shipment of his material reward. The narrative simply never mentions him again. Orlando's 'sentimental re-education' seems mainly to have taught him what he is *not*. So, when his ship is captured by the French, Orlando reflects that 'in every Frenchman he saw, not a *natural* enemy, but a brother'.³³ Smith suggests no connection between the failures of British society and the alternative relationships Orlando discovers in the American wilds. Instead, the narrative escapes them in Orlando's own preferred style—by emphasizing the salvations offered by writing. Volume four of *The Old Manor House* is increasingly dominated by questions of proof, legality, and with documents of various kinds, in self-conscious excess of the requirements of the resolution of the love-plot (since Orlando and Monimia are married long before the ending of the novel). The diversionary tactics of Smith's narrative return to the ancient house itself. Usurped, deserted, plundered during Orlando's absence from it, the house contains for those interested in such a narrative the hidden authority which will restore the fortunes of the central characters; but it has also been contextualized and miniaturized by the American narrative of volume three. In imaginative effect, the narrative of volume three is simply overlaid by the narrative of volume four. The two are never integrated. Indeed, the imaginative logic seems to be to drive them further apart, defining North America as the land of aggression, capture, and alienation; and Britain as a self-parody of fraudulent legalities and undeclared class war.

What is striking, historiographically, is the flatness of Smith's disinclination to connect. As I have shown, the military components of her

engagement with the Saratoga campaign are not, as has sometimes been thought, casual or thin. Instead, Saratoga is the irony at the centre of the novel, driving its reflections on the state of Britain and Britain's new war in 1793, while remaining structurally detachable, contained in a third volume apparently drafted in from an entirely different, and disconnected, narrative domain. The narrative of this chapter moves next to a different kind of disconnected fiction, a work which seems to have nothing whatsoever to do with Smith's burgoyned hero, Orlando, or with any war in America. Scott's Ashestiel 'Memoirs' have revealed the significance of the War of Independence in shaping his early political ideas, even his ideas about the Jacobite cause. Bringing these different national conflicts together seems now as counterintuitive as bringing together the historical styles of Charlotte Smith and Walter Scott. These are both, however, fractures created by subsequent historical and literary-historical analysis. If, as I have suggested, fracture, formally and imaginatively, is key to new developments in historiography during the Romantic period in Britain, how might this affect our understanding of the novelist regarded throughout the nineteenth century as the inventor of historical fiction, and incontrovertibly the most important influence on its subsequent development?

3. WALTER SCOTT'S RESTORATION PROJECTS

Volume three of *The Old Manor House* is interesting in terms of what it describes, but even more interesting in its careful segregations, ethnic and structural. Cut off even from the subsequent development of Smith's plot, the American episode would appear to have no connection whatsoever with Scott's first novel, *Waverley*, set during the Jacobite rebellion of 1745–6 and characterized by a range and detail of historical command far in excess of Smith's treatment of Saratoga. That does not mean, however, that Scott did not learn from Smith; or that the rescue and inheritance of the estate at the end of *The Old Manor House* do not resonate in Scott's own fictions of restoration. The name of Scott's young hero, said in chapter 1 to be an 'unmarked' name, echoes that of Waverly, a man of 'uncommon indecision of mind' in Smith's earlier novel *Desmond* (1792);³⁴ and Scott was a careful reader of Smith's fiction. In his essay on Smith, later grouped with other biographical sketches in his *Miscellaneous Prose Works* (1834–6), he refers to her works as 'deeply impressed on our memory', and describes *The Old Manor House* as the most important of them, praising 'especially the first part of the story, where the scene lies about the ancient mansion and its vicinity'.³⁵ Ostensibly, however, *The Old Manor House* played no part in the composition or genealogy of his first novel, at the end of which 'A

Postscript, which should have been a Preface' highlights his debt to Maria Edgeworth's national tale, *Castle Rackrent* (1800), and dedicates the novel to a Scottish novelist of the generation before his own, Henry Mackenzie. These choices, in different ways, align *Waverley* with national fictions of tradition and consolidation. In the light of this chapter's attention to fractured narratives, historical and literary-historical, however, it is worth thinking again about the literary debts of *Waverley*, as well as about modern critical assumptions about where they should be found.

Several of the elements critics have emphasized in *The Old Manor House* are reprised in *Waverley*. These include the emblematic significance of the old house and of those who eventually inherit it, the echoes of romance-characters, situations, and plots, and the self-consciously fictional ending. There are structural links, and some similarities of detail, between the two aunts called 'Mrs' by courtesy, Grace Rayland and Rachel Waverley. Waverley's Aunt Rachel, like Orlando's Mrs Rayland, for example, sublimates any fears for his safety in the sentimental recollection of glorious ancestral battles.³⁶ Altogether stranger, Orlando's American adventures can be recognized as a template for the experiences of Scott's young English officer, dispatched to fight a civil war on what he quickly feels to be the wrong side. When Scott came to fictionalize the '45, he may also have been remembering the contentious campaign he disputed with Captain Delgatty—Burgoyne's Saratoga. Orlando and Waverley are both men of sensibility caught up in battle-scenes, and are reported (rather than seen) to perform feats of bravery which are applauded by those in high command. Like Orlando, Waverley is captured, transported helpless across unknown terrain, and dressed in an alien garb. Also like Orlando, Waverley is engaged in a civil war in which one side has made use of what it perceives to be the savage energies of an indigenous people. Unlike Orlando, however, Waverley permanently retains the marks of his Highland career as part of his identity. Orlando maintains a secure sense of self during the months of his captivity, even when he adopts Iroquois styles. He learns linguistic and hunting skills which his unshaken belief in the savagery of his captors renders irrelevant on his return to white society; and his bond with the Wolf-hunter is circumscribed by ethnic difference. Waverley's friendship with Fergus MacIvor is developed in more detail (ethnicity not being an issue), and Scott sets up a more integrated fiction of restoration in having Waverley take on, after Fergus's execution, the role of 'Friend of the Sons of Ivor': 'remember,' as Fergus enjoins him, 'you have worn their tartan, and are an adopted son of their race'.³⁷

The most significant divergence between the resolutions of *The Old Manor House* and *Waverley* is the degree to which political and national conflict are found to be resolvable within a characteristic British-American

plot of this period: the story of family conflict and reconciliation.³⁸ Scott represents the end of civil war by the marriage of Edward Waverley and Rose Bradwardine, and by the restoration of the Bradwardine estate, but there is no pretence that this is a resolution commensurate with the loss and destruction of the '45. Edward and Rose settle on his ancestral estate, but the fantasy of the restored house, the house which is remade as legible, is permanently displaced onto the Bradwardine family seat, Tullyveolan, complete with its restored bear-fountains and the 'large and animated painting' of Edward Waverley's and Fergus MacIvor's Highland exploits.³⁹ What seems to linger in Scott's mind from *The Old Manor House*, and what distinguishes Smith's novel from other works which make their North American sections essentially excursionary as opposed to emigrant—such as *Humphry Clinker*, or book 3 of Wordsworth's *Excursion* (publ. 1814)—is *The Old Manor House's* elaborately textual and legalistic rebuff to the excursionary venture; the limits of its sympathy; the ways in which it explores notions of connective memory in a highly self-consciously textual fashion. As a result, the ending of *Waverley* emphasizes fracture—in memory, sensibility, social change, even in its 'Postscript, which should have been a Preface'—in the midst of a highly self-conscious fantasy of restoration (the restored estate and mended house of Tullyveolan; the magically restored young heir of Waverley-Honour).

Scott's fictions, in different genres, often allude to stories from across the Atlantic; and *Waverley* is positioned, in his writing career, between his poetical romance *Rokeby* (1813), which features South American treasure and tales of American Indian adventures, and his second novel, *Guy Mannering* (1815), which is set during the time of the War of Independence and makes several brief references to the War as part of the economic and social context of its western-Scottish tale. American Indian traditions are alluded to throughout his writings.⁴⁰ As far as *Waverley* is concerned, nothing could seem less relevant to a story of the '45 than the history of the creation of the United States. Such a suggestion disrupts, too, the supposedly natural history of the development of historical fiction. The new history of the United States of America can have, it is assumed, no natural part to play in the seismic reordering, in a new Europe of restoration and national difference, of British narratives of its past. It might, however, have an unnatural part to play. Just as Scott's memories of his early Jacobite sympathies, as recorded in the Ashestiel 'Memoirs', have been sifted from their American context, so have the restored estate and the legal plot of *Waverley* become separated, in literary history, from altogether less satisfying historical accounts of the aftermath of civil war. In the same way, too, the imprint of *The Old Manor House* has been lost from one of Scott's oddest, and most marginal, short stories, 'The Tapestry Chamber, or The

Lady in the Sacque', in which another soldier returns from a disastrous British military campaign in the War of Independence to a house of dark secrets in England.

Everything about the publication and reception history of 'The Tapestry Chamber' seems to mark out this tale as ephemeral and incidental. Scott first intended to publish it in *Chronicles of the Canongate* (an interlinked series of tales and, even for Scott, a complicated mix of narrative levels and voices, published in two series in 1827–8), but his publishers thought it unsuitable. In January 1828 Scott rejected the proposal that he should become the editor of the new literary annual *The Keepsake*, but promised instead to supply the occasional 'trifle'. 'The Tapestry Chamber', with two other tales, duly appeared in *The Keepsake for 1829*.⁴¹ In his introduction to the story, Scott simultaneously locates it in personal memory and distances himself from its origins, describing it as entirely faithful to a story he had heard Anna Seward tell over twenty years earlier. The author, Scott states, 'has studiously avoided any attempt at ornament which might interfere with the simplicity of the tale'.⁴² He deflects narratorial responsibility onto Seward, describing the tale's protagonist, for example, as 'a general officer, to whom Miss Seward gave the name of Browne, but merely, as I understood, to save the inconvenience of introducing a nameless agent in the narrative'.⁴³ A name given 'merely' to avoid 'inconvenience' in the telling hardly suggests that the historical detail of the work is pressingly relevant to its purpose or meaning.

'Browne', as he thus may or may not have been called, is in this story a general in Lord Cornwallis's army, which surrendered after the siege of Yorktown by Washington's troops in October 1781, four years after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. After Yorktown, Browne returns to England and embarks on a tour through 'the western counties'. Here he comes across a town 'peculiarly English' where he is intrigued by the prospect of a castle which dates from the Wars of the Roses but which has been embellished at different periods of its history, particularly during the Elizabethan and Jacobean years. (Its description, like that of several other castles in the French Revolution debate, recalls Blackstone's characterization of the British constitution in his *Commentaries* of 1768: 'We inhabit an old gothic castle, erected in the days of chivalry, but fitted up for a modern inhabitant'.⁴⁴) Enquiries reveal that this picturesque composite of English history has recently been inherited by Browne's 'fag at Eton', Lord Woodville, who invites Browne to join the party of guests he has invited to celebrate this inheritance. Browne tells stories of the American campaign, describes his experience of sleeping in an old tobacco-cask ('like Diogenes') 'when I was in the Bush, as the Virginians call it';⁴⁵ while Lord Woodville hopes that his shooting skills have improved during his time 'amongst the

Indians of the back settlements'.⁴⁶ These stories, and the social context of 'The Tapestry Chamber', are exclusively masculine, with an emphasis on the 'manly pursuits' of field sports. The repressed female presences of the castle return, however. Soon after retiring to bed, Browne sees before him 'the figure of a little woman' dressed in a silk sacque (a loose, ambiguously informal gown) after the fashion of her grandmother's day. She turns to him a face 'which wore the fixed features of a corpse' and 'the traces of the vilest and most hideous passions'; then joins him on the bed, 'and squatted herself down upon it' in a posture which mimics his. At this point, Browne loses consciousness: 'I sank back in a swoon, as very a victim to panic terror as ever was a village girl, or a child of ten years old'.⁴⁷

Underlining the General's ordeal is a disrupted architectural and decorative pattern; for it is usually Gothic heroines who are threatened in unsafe bedchambers, and the female body which is figured by the enclosed but insecurely private space. The episode also breaks a general convention in Scott's writing, that threatening and sexually ambivalent women are tall, with commanding features.⁴⁸ This 'little woman' is grotesquely playful, at once antiquated and infantile. The next day, Browne recognizes her face among the family portraits in Lord Woodville's gallery, and is told that she committed crimes of 'incest, and unnatural murder' in the tapestry chamber, which Lord Woodville subsequently orders to be 'unmantled, and the door built up'.⁴⁹ The fears suggested by this story are predominantly sexual. There are echoes of legends of Spectre Brides, Loathly Ladies, the Bleeding Nun from Scott's friend Matthew Lewis's novel *The Monk* (1796), and (reversing the gender roles) Fuseli's painting 'The Nightmare' of 1781. The detail that General Browne has recently returned from Yorktown and can contrast the luxuries of his apartment with the privations of the campaign in Virginia seems entirely incidental, except in so far as it attests to his courage—a component of the story, as Scott insists, as told by Seward (who had many friends and acquaintances who were involved in the War of Independence, including the subject of her *Monody on the Death of Major André*, 1781).

Although they may well have been part of Seward's oral story, however, the details of Yorktown and the wilds of Virginia were deliberately included in 'The Tapestry Chamber', and the American context of Scott's version must be recognized as an important component of the story in the political climate of the years preceding the first Reform Act of 1832. We can ascertain this because there is at least one other closely similar story, published in a context Scott knew well, the anonymous 'Story of an Apparition', which appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1818. 'Story of an Apparition' is said to be based on the tale of a 'friend', perhaps Seward, though she is not named; but the differences between it

and 'The Tapestryed Chamber' are significant. 'Story of an Apparition' is set in 1737, half a century earlier than 'towards the end of the American war', and the ghost appears not in the dress of the late seventeenth century but in one of 'three centuries ago'.⁵⁰ In 'The Tapestryed Chamber', General Browne describes the apparition in his own words; 'Story of an Apparition' is a third-person narrative. 'Story of an Apparition' includes literary references, particularly to Ann Radcliffe; and the company has spent the evening telling ghost stories, not hearing tales of the American War. It is a mixed company, with women, who speak. The chamber is isolated from the rest of the house, and it has a door which does not close properly. The ghost is not an old lady: her age is not mentioned, even when her portrait is viewed. 'Colonel D.' is simply visiting a friend in the north (rather than the west) of England. No detailed account of the house is given, and the Colonel's friend has not recently inherited it. The horror is implicitly sexual and its duration, and nature, remain curiously indeterminate: 'The approach of such a face near his own, was more than Colonel D—could support; and when he rose next morning from a feverish and troubled sleep, he could not recollect how or when the accursed spectre had departed.'⁵¹ The spectre is not a mimic, however; and the tale is contextualized not in terms of architectural style or decoration, but in terms of sociable conversation and literary discussion. As a whole, 'The Tapestryed Chamber' is more immediately threatening than the 1818 'Story of an Apparition': the action is drawn temporally closer; the setting is made stereotypically English; the climactic narrative of horror becomes first-instead of third-person. The concentration on architectural accretion and renewal suggests that, in the years of intensive debate on electoral reform, Lord Woodville's castle has taken on some Burkean allegories of architecture; while the spectre suggests both female mimicry and the threat to the present from the crimes of the past, which cannot be obliterated by modern refurbishment.

The similarities between the experiences described in 'The Tapestryed Chamber' and 'Story of an Apparition' led Coleman Parsons to ascribe the 1818 story to Scott. Graham Tulloch and Judy King, however, have convincingly countered Parsons's case and have established the alternative possibility that Scott may have been the oral source, perhaps the intermediary between Anna Seward and the author of 'Story of an Apparition'.⁵² They suggest Washington Irving as a possible author of 'Story of an Apparition', though they acknowledge difficulties in establishing such an attribution, including the absence of any reference to a story for *Blackwood's* in Irving's correspondence for July–September 1817. In *Tales of a Traveller*—of which Scott owned a first edition—Irving later published a version of the same story, 'The Adventure of My Uncle', written in Paris and set in

France, and in which the ghost 'returns as the victim rather than as the perpetrator of a sexual crime'.⁵³ Tulloch and King thus argue that 'The Tapestryed Chamber' is 'an amplified and more literary version' of 'Story of an Apparition', and that Scott may, in writing it, have drawn on 'The Adventure of My Uncle'. As they point out, anachronisms in intellectual history show that Scott embellished Seward's tale; as they also emphasize, ghost stories are by their nature prone to embellishment. What scholarship on 'The Tapestryed Chamber' and its associate tales has not so far considered is the specific context of the War of Independence. Sir Walter Farquhar's experiences at the castle of Berry Pomeroy in Devon might well, as Tulloch and King suggest, have informed Seward's narrative; and this would fit in with the setting in a castle in 'the west'. Farquhar, however, was not returning from Yorktown. The American context of the tale in Scott's version remains unexplained; unless, that is, it was either a detail in Seward's account or a detail suggested by Seward's published work on Major André and the War of Independence.

By specifying Yorktown, Scott reintroduces to British political debate 'the impolitic and ill-fated controversy' of the American campaign.⁵⁴ Browne himself appears prematurely marked by the misadventure of Yorktown. If Lord Woodville has been his fag at Eton and friend at Oxford, there can be no more than a few years' difference in their ages; but Browne seems like a much older figure, returning to an archetypal English scene haunted by a family crime. During Browne's military service, a younger man has come into a fine inheritance, only to find that his attempts to improve his ancestral home have failed to excise the spectral repetitions of 'incest, and unnatural murder'—that is, incest and either parricide or (as is suggested by the echo of the ghost of Hamlet's father) fratricide. This conflict has been kept within the family, and cannot be resolved, only crudely blocked off from the domestic present day. One detail in the difference between 'Story of an Apparition' and 'The Tapestryed Chamber' is especially intriguing in this context. Scott's unsettlingly childlike crone is a mimic. By 1828, the supposed mimic-status of the 'infant' United States was tired fare in a protracted cultural war;⁵⁵ but Scott combines it with a parody of his own tale's provenance, in the story-telling of Anna Seward in particular and female oral narrative more generally. In terms of the historical record, Browne's testimony reverses Woodville's attempts at reintegration: the portrait is removed from the family gallery, and the chamber accepted as irreclaimable. The defeated ending of 'The Tapestryed Chamber', and the tale's aggressive, earned inconsequentiality, suggest narratives to come in the literary histories of both sides of the Atlantic.

This chapter has considered disintegrated historical fictions, and the imaginative relationships between them, in a time of anxious segregation,

which has become, in our own intellectual time, a period of reasserted connections. In the decades immediately following American independence, I have argued, British ways of writing historically changed, not only because Britain had been fundamentally, and lastingly, reconfigured as historical, but also because the creation of separate national histories altered what writers felt they could say about a newly 'American' past. In earlier eighteenth-century European accounts of the science, and the history, of 'man', examples from the Americas had been part of an integrated narrative, a narrative which reasserted an authoritative centre from which a future would develop. For decades following the end of the War of Independence, in contrast, historical writing ostensibly swerved from the subject of North America, most markedly in Britain and in the new forms of historical fiction represented by the poems and novels of Scott. In fact, as the examples drawn from Blake, Robertson, Smith, and Scott in this chapter demonstrate, a wider shift in historical consciousness may be traced through changes in historical method and narrative emphasis.

Robertson suspended plans for an integrated (what we would now call a 'hemispheric') history of America, recognizing it as unwritable in the historical moment of 1776–7. The *History of America* rendered a political break as also a break in a narrative line, positioning history itself as a topic over which Britain had lost jurisdiction. In 1793, Blake's *America* extended a historical subject 'rent apart' into a formally and mythographically disparate art-work of layered rather than linear history. Also in 1793, Charlotte Smith included a lengthy sequence of American adventures in *The Old Manor House*, but at the same time separated this sequence from the rest of her tale. In this novel, separation is partly structural, and partly imaginative, in that Orlando's adventures in North America form no part of his subsequent development or of his social role (a role which is markedly integrative, reuniting house, family, and lines of inheritance). In the case of *Waverley*, published twenty years later, British history is written over the template provided by Smith's narrative of the Saratoga campaign, reuniting Scott's childhood memories of the American War and the Jacobite cause. So Scottish and so historically specific does *Waverley* seem to most readers that it appears inconceivable to read it in the context of an altogether different, American, past; but Saratoga, as Scott's 'Memoirs' show, was strangely linked for him to the Stuart cause. In 'The Tapestry Chamber', fourteen years after *Waverley*, the return from British defeat at Yorktown is potentially part of the context of a manifestation of a guilty and again 'unnatural' secret at the heart of another ancestral house, but instead of making this detail directly relevant to the implications of the story, Scott chooses to account for it as part of an 'original' story, something separate from his own artistic choice. In recalling an old story told by 'Miss Seward', however, Scott is also revising a different story by 'Mrs Smith'.

The chapter has also addressed fractures in a different historiography, that of received literary tradition. Smith's descendants and inheritors in literary history are usually taken to be domestic tales, Gothic fictions, women's fiction, and country-house allegories of nation and inheritance from *Mansfield Park* (1814) to *Howards End* (1910) and beyond.⁵⁶ The intertextuality of *The Old Manor House* and *Waverley* suggests an entirely different plot-line in literary history, in which British defeats during the War of Independence, recorded in Scott's Ashestiel 'Memoirs' as foundational childhood experiences, come back to haunt a seminal British historical novel. *Waverley* is at the start of a sweeping and world-changing movement in the story of prose fiction—the wide popularity of the historical novel and the rise of a new type of historical consciousness—but it is also a partial recollection and an imaginative swerve from the absorbing far-off battles of Scott's childhood, read aloud from newspapers and dispatches and circulated at second- and third-hand, not read about in books. 'Starting' the Romantic period with the French Revolution, as many histories of literature and ideas have done, overlooks the ways in which, as in Blake's *America*, that revolution was already, for British observers, secondary both to Britain's 'Glorious' Revolution a century earlier and to the less than glorious modern story of the loss of the American colonies.

NOTES

1. Plate 13, lines 142–50, in *Blake: The Complete Poems*, ed. W. H. Stevenson and David V. Erdman (London: Longman, 1971), 200–1.
2. See the terms set by Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to that Event* (1790), ed. Conor Cruise O'Brien (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 121–2, 271–3, 279–81. Analyses of the castle motif in revolutionary discourse of the period include Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution (1798–1830)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), esp. 219–25; E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 125–8; Frances A. Chui, 'Faulty Towers: Reform, Radicalism and the Gothic Castle, 1760–1800', *Romanticism on the Net*, 44 (2006); and Tom Duggett, *Gothic Romanticism: Architecture, Politics, and Literary Form*, 2nd edn (2010; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), esp. ch. 1.
3. See 'Ahanian, rent apart' in *Milton*, Book the First, Plate 19, line 41, in *Blake: Complete Poems*, 514; also 'America closed apart' in *Jerusalem, Emanation of the Giant Albion*, second chapter, Plate 38, line 69, in *Blake: Complete Poems*, 703. For discussions of Blake and history, see Tilottama Rajan, '(Dis)figuring the System: Vision, History, and Trauma in Blake's Lambeth Books', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58/3–4 (1997), 383–411; Michael Ferber, 'Blake's America and the Birth of Revolution', in Stephen C. Behrendt (ed.), *History and Myth: Essays in English Romantic Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 73–99; John Mee, *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William*

- Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); David Aers, 'Representations of Revolution: From The French Revolution to 'The Four Zoas'', in Dan Miller, Mark Bracher, and Donald Ault (eds), *Critical Paths: Blake and the Argument of Method* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 1984), 244–70; and Steven Goldsmith, "'Cracked Across": Blake, Milton, and the Noise of History', *Studies in Romanticism*, 51/3 (2012), 305–42.
4. Karen O'Brien, 'The Delayed Americanisation of American History', *Early American Literature*, 29 (1994), 1–18.
 5. Ina Ferris, *The Achievement of Literary Authority: Gender, History, and the Waverley Novels* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), esp. ch. 3.
 6. On the move to history in the early decades of the United States, see Robert Clark, *History, Ideology and Myth in American Fiction, 1823–52* (London: Macmillan, 1984); George Dekker, *The American Historical Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Philip Gould, *Covenant and Republic: Historical Romance and the Politics of Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). David Armitage surveys the importance of the Americas for British historical writing in 'The New World and British Historical Thought: From Richard Hakluyt to William Robertson', in Karen Ordahl Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 52–75.
 7. Fiona Robertson, 'British Romantic Columbiads', *Symbiosis*, 2 (1998), 1. On the writing context of the *History of America*, see Jeffrey R. Smitten, 'Moderatism and History: William Robertson's Unfinished History of British America', in Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey R. Smitten (eds), *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 163–79; and Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 151–66, esp. 61–3.
 8. See Tim Fulford's edn of *Oliver Newman* in *Robert Southey: Later Poetical Works 1811–1838*, gen. eds. Tim Fulford and Lynda Pratt, 4 vols (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), and his discussion of *Gertrude of Wyoming* in *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture 1756–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), ch. 11. *Oliver Newman* and *Gertrude of Wyoming* are discussed in Fiona Robertson's forthcoming *The United States in British Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), chs. 4 and 5.
 9. Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, tr. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (1937; London: Merlin Press, 1962), esp. 15–29.
 10. *Scott on Himself: A Selection of the Autobiographical Writings of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. David Hewitt (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1981), 12–13. Events recalled in this section of the 'Memoirs' relate to 1776–7.
 11. *Scott on Himself*, 17.
 12. *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, Centenary Edition, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols (London: Dent, 1930–40), xi. 65.
 13. Susan Manning, *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 2, 15.
 14. Alexander Regier, *Fracture and Fragmentation in British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 7.
 15. Northrop Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 29–30.
 16. Charlotte Smith, *The Old Manor House*, introd. Janet Todd (London: Pandora-Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 347. See the earlier conversation with Orlando's mother, which emphasizes Smith's awareness that the colonists are not 'rebellious exiles' but 'men of [Britain's] own country' (240); and Orlando's internalization of this view during his Atlantic crossing (336).
 17. Loraine Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith: A Critical Biography* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 164. For details of the financial and speculative implications of colonialism in Smith's novel, see *Old Manor House*, 10, 33, 433. For the political implications of landscape, see esp. *Old Manor House*, 346, which includes the detail that 'What Orlando had often seen cherished in English gardens as beautiful shrubs, here rose into plants of such majestic size and foliage as made the British oak poor in comparison', an implicit dwarfing of the symbol of British politics; and 453, where Orlando recalls the American spring producing 'a more brilliant variety of flowers than art can collect in the most cultivated European garden'. Dale Townshend comments on 'improvement' and the novel's ending in 'Improvement and Repair: Architecture, Romance and the Politics of Gothic, 1790–1817', *Literature Compass*, 8 (2011), 736.
 18. Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith*, 168; Barbara Tarling, "'The Slight Skirmishing of a Novel Writer": Charlotte Smith and the American War of Independence', in Jacqueline M. Labbe (ed.), *Charlotte Smith in British Romanticism* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), 71–86, esp. 77–84.
 19. Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith*, 173.
 20. Most influentially argued by Florence May Anna Hilbish, 'Charlotte Smith, Poet and Novelist (1749–1806)' (unpubl. Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1941); reconsidered by Erik Simpson, *Mercenaries in British and American Literature, 1790–1830: Writing, Fighting, and Marrying for Money* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), ch. 2. Jacqueline M. Labbe notes in her edn of *The Old Manor House* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2002) that Smith's turn back to the War of Independence can be read 'as a way of disguising her critical stance on the British Government's actions towards France' (581); Tarling notes that representations of the war function in several novels by Smith 'as both overt and covert sites for the discussion of events in France' (71).
 21. Jeremy Black, *War for America: The Fight for Independence 1775–1783* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), 121.
 22. *Old Manor House*, 348–50.
 23. *Old Manor House*, 349. Fletcher comments at 174: 'She evidently thought the story too hideous for anything other than a footnote reference.'
 24. *Old Manor House*, 350. 'The secret sympathy between generous minds seems to exist through the whole human kind; for this young warrior became soon

- as much attached to Orlando as his nature allowed him to be to any body', Smith continues, notably without detailing Orlando's side of this 'sympathy'.
25. Fulford, *Romantic Indians*, 104–6. In contrast to Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, Fulford argues that 'Smith's Indians are a rhetorical stopgap for a situation that her genre—the popular romance—has no room to rectify' (106). Angela Keane, *Women Writers and the English Nation in the 1790s: Romantic Belongings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 98.
 26. Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, ed. Lewis M. Knapp, rev. Paul-Gabriel Boucé (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 89, 192–7, 267.
 27. *Humphry Clinker*, 219, 225; and *Waverley*, ed. P. D. Garside, vol. i of *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, 30 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), i, 215, 46.
 28. Christopher Flynn, *Americans in British Literature, 1770–1832: A Breed Apart* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 2: 'The American Revolution made English writers come to terms with the loss of what had seemed the next stage of their history.' Flynn refers to *The Old Manor House* in a wider discussion of 'English Novels on the American Revolution', commenting on Smith's 'sexualized view of Britain as a masculine, rapacious figure' (16). Jacqueline M. Labbe comments on Orlando's 'feminized position of distress' with reference to the 'Whip poor Will' sonnet in *Charlotte Smith: Romanticism, Poetry and the Culture of Gender* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 105.
 29. *Old Manor House*, 367. This capture is overshadowed, for Orlando, by anxiety about Monimia's perils in England, of which he has heard in a long letter interrupting his American experiences (353–64).
 30. *Old Manor House*, 369.
 31. *Old Manor House*, 370.
 32. *Old Manor House*, 377–8.
 33. *Old Manor House*, 378. Erik Simpson argues, in contrast, that Orlando's 'voyage away from and back to England has transformed him and his relation to his homeland' (*Mercenaries*, 72); and reads his relationship with the Wolf-hunter (78–80). Romance journeys traditionally alter the hero's perspective on return, which is why, in my reading, it is so revealing that the American section of *The Old Manor House* falls short of being formative psychologically or socio-politically.
 34. *Desmond: A Novel, in Three Volumes* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1792), i, 6. In *Desmond*, the War of Independence is described as more ferocious than Britain's war with France after 1793: *Desmond*, i, 151–5, iii, 90–1. On the name of Scott's hero, see Wilbur L. Cross, 'An Earlier Waverley', *Modern Language Notes*, 17 (1902), 44–5, and Peter Garside, 'The Baron's Books: *Waverley* as Bibliomaniacal Romance', *Romanticism*, 14/3 (2008), 251.
 35. *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, ed. J. G. Lockhart, 28 vols (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1834–6), iv, 63. For the essay as a whole, see pages 20–70 (20–58 being a biographical account by Smith's sister Mrs Dorset). On Scott and Smith, see Marshall Brown, 'Poetry and the Novel', in Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener (eds), *The Cambridge Guide to Fiction in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 107–28.

36. *Waverley*, 17–18, 24; and *Old Manor House*, 219–20. Scott praised the characterization of Grace Rayland ('without a rival; a Queen Elizabeth in private life') in his essay on Smith (*Miscellaneous Prose Works*, iv, 63).
37. *Waverley*, 347.
38. For the power of familial and physical metaphors, and their resonances when interpreted in the language offered by psychoanalysis, see Chris Prentice, 'Some Problems of Response to Empire in Settler Post-Colonial Societies', in Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 45–58. The parent and child motif was widely commented on and has important ramifications in political representation as affective bond: see e.g. John Barrell, *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide 1793–1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 54; Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and Stephen Fender, *Sea Changes: British Emigration and American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. 16: 'The organic model of an individual's adolescent growth—the irresistible, irreversible process by which Paine naturalised the Revolution and countless emigrants proclaimed their assimilation to their adoptive country—was and remains a powerful enabler of both individuals and societies.'
39. *Waverley*, 361.
40. See Fulford, *Romantic Indians*, 7–12; and Andrew Hook, *From Goosecreek to Ganderclough: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999).
41. Walter Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, ed. Graham Tulloch and Judy King, vol. xxiv of *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, 30 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), xxiv, 196.
42. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 96.
43. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 77.
44. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 80. See William Blackstone on 'the noble monuments of ancient simplicity, and the more curious refinements of modern life' in 'this noble pile' of law, in *Commentaries on the Laws of England: A Facsimile of the First Edition of 1765–1769*, 4 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), iv, 436. The constitutional potential of old houses, clearest, in historical fiction, in *The Old Manor House*, also derives from the first Gothic usurpation-tale, *The Castle of Otranto* (1764); and the passage from Burke's 1790 *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which is cited in support of the house-as-nation idea is indebted to Walpole. Of 'the idea of a liberal descent', Burke writes: 'It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. It has its bearings and ensigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inscriptions; its records, evidences and titles.' *Reflections*, 121.
45. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 79.
46. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 79.
47. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 84, 85. It is not clear exactly what this position is. Browne has, at first, 'started up in bed, and sat upright, supporting myself on

- my palms', but this may not be 'the same attitude which I had assumed in the extremity of my terror' (85). The presence of the ghost in itself hardly seems to account for Browne's reluctance to give the particulars of the experience, which he tells Woodville is 'of a nature so peculiar and so unpleasant' (83), though his 'shame' is that of 'a man and a soldier' (85).
48. See particularly Blanche in *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), Meg Merrilies in *Guy Mannering* (1815), Helen MacGregor in *Rob Roy* (1818), Madge Wildfire in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818), Magdalen Græme in *The Abbot* (1820), and Ulla Troil in *The Pirate* (1822).
 49. *Shorter Fiction*, 88. Tulloch and King note that this is the *OED*'s only record of 'unmantled', meaning 'to have its furnishings removed' (256). This is true if the term is taken to mean the furnishings of a room, a rare use of which 'The Tapestryed Chamber' is indeed the earliest recorded example. Scott seems to be playing on the earlier and customary sense of 'to take off one's mantle', i.e. a garment; at least, the transfer from clothing to room-furnishings is resonant in this story.
 50. 'Story of an Apparition' is quoted in full in *The Shorter Fiction*, 196–9.
 51. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 198.
 52. C. O. Parsons, 'Scott's Prior Version of "The Tapestryed Chamber"', *Notes and Queries*, 107 (1962), 417–20. See Tulloch and King's 'Historical Note' to 'The Tapestryed Chamber', *The Shorter Fiction*, 196–205.
 53. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 202.
 54. Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*, 77, where it is clear that 'the impolitic and ill-fated controversy' can apply to the American War in general as well as to its military conclusion at Yorktown.
 55. See further, Robertson, *United States in British Romanticism*, ch. 6.
 56. Fletcher, *Charlotte Smith*, 163–5.